Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a,
Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF SOCIETY

1. Three Types of Social Integration.

182 Among Formosans, as among other peoples, there are three developmental ideal types of social integration correspondings to three developmental ideal types of society:

a) Integration by blood relationship -- tribal society
b) Integration by locality -- folk society
c) Integration by social function, or social need within an area -- national society

182 602 Blood relationship is the most direct and immediate principle of social integration. It is natural that primitive societies in their transition from band to horde to tribal society, are integrated on this principle. The aboriginal society in Formosa belongs to this type. We of course refer to integration by blood relationship and tribal society as an ideal type. Even in primitive societies there are relationships by locality and relationships by function, but blood is the main principle of social integration.

182 When a society increases in numbers and its scope is extended, various kinds of work

182 and functions are differentiated. Then the society becomes too complicated to be integrated by blood relationship. Integration by locality has to take its place. Though the dominant place is taken by locality, however, blood relationship still remains a very important principle of social cohesion. The principal of social integration of the Chinese in Formosa up to the early years of Japanese rule belonged to this type.

As a society continues to develop, some part of it will be urbanized, and handicrafts and commerce will develop. In an urban community, some members begin to make their living by means other than agriculture. Handicrafts and commerce, and later on various kinds of services, become the main concern of its members. People are integrated by their trades into guilds, and guilds are again integrated into some higher unit. This is the new principle of social integration, integration by social function or social need in its various aspects. At the same time handicrafts and commerce promote the exchange of goods, and the self-sufficient, closed village economy gradually evolves into a circulatory money economy. Eventually a national economy may develop. On the political level, a national economy requires standardization and unification, and half-independent localities within an area are generally integrated into an organic whole which becomes an administrative division of a modern state. A modern state with a national economy is a national society or civil society. In it, although social cohesion by blood relationship and locality are still important, social function or social need becomes the dominant principle of integration.

182 As long as the urban community still comprises only a small part of society, there will be no remarkable change. But when the scope of the urban community is extended and industry, commerce, and the field of services develop and become more important than agriculture, then the way of life changes greatly, agrarian society is transformed into industrial society, rural society is transformed into urban society. In Formosa the modern political-economic system was enforced by a colonial ruler, and industrialization and urbanization were begun only after the Japanese occupation.

2. Blood Relationship and Locality as Principles of Social Cohesion.

103 618 Among the place names in Formosa there are not a few called after the surname of a clan. Examples are, Tan-tso (Ch'en-tsu), which means the hamlet of the clan of the Ch'ens, or Lim-tso-liao (Lin-tsu-liao), which means the cottages of the clan of the Lins. Though hitherto not adequately noticed, this is an indication of the existence of the so-called clan-village, and it is a significant stage in social development.

103 Again, as in other countries, there are places named after the original native town of the residents. In one case the local name of a mainland town or city was adopted in Formosa, such as Chaochow (Ch'ao-chou) in southern Taiwan. In other cases, a prefix or suffix was attached to the

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

THE FERTILITY OF THE TAIWANESE

Regrettably there is very little actual knowledge of the early demographic situation in Taiwan that preceded this development. Poor records are most often characteristic of such conditions, for the same factors that stand in the way of promoting longevity also inhibit modernization in other respects. But ignorance of the details need not prevent us from ascertaining broadly what was the state of affairs that formerly prevailed. It is certain, for example, that the early population of Taiwanese regularly suffered heavy attrition by mortality. As late as 1906, at least 35 deaths were still occurring per thousand in the population. If this was the case after ten years of pacification, conscientious civil administration and preliminary sanitation measures by the Japanese, then the usual level of mortality before must have been even higher.

The Taiwanese on the island before 1895 were already a firmly established population, and no longer relied on immigrants to replenish their numbers. In age composition the population was a settled and not a transient one (see Fig. 3). If the decade or so preceding the first census had not presented unusually high risks of death, the age structure would have been almost the same in 1905 as it was in 1940. Even so, it was marked by large proportions of infants and young children, indicating steady and high fertility in the past. Though we have given migration credit for most of the population growth in Taiwan before 1895, there is every sign that fertility continued there at the same rate that was customary on the mainland.

Chinese culture from the earliest known times has been faced with mortality that was proverbially high. As a normal state of affairs, this imposes certain requirements if a population is to continue in existence. For example, barring large migration, enough births must regularly be produced to offset the risks of dying. Failing this, a population would also fail to survive. Prolonged high mortality thus helps to develop social institutions that encourge high fertility.

Sufficient numbers of births, however, are not forthcoming due to this necessity alone. Their supply is ensured in countries of high fertility through elaborate features of social organization. Custom and moral precept in such societies create firm sentiment in favor of the obligations and continuity of family relationships. They furnish powerful incentives to bring forth abundant offspring. There are strong and subtle pressures toward marriage of young men and women. Family life receives great emphasis, and becomes the center of numerous activities that give it additional weight. When a wide

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

161 enough range of social functions is carried on in family units, individuals cannot readily participate in the society except as family
182 members. Their contacts with the rest of the society may come to depend on ties of kinship, lacking provision for being conducted on other terms.

Familial institutions have always been one of the most prominent elements in Chinese society. The culture of China is dominated by a morality that systematically urges and abets the production of progeny. We have already seen the by-products of this situation among the Taiwanese. The organization of livelihood, the inheritance of occupation, the immobility of the rural population and the character of migration to cities all reflected the influence of family relationships in the decisions of individuals.

At the same time, events under Japanese rule undeniably altered many of the conditions of life in Taiwan. In fifty years of selective exposure to modern innovations, Taiwanese were showing the effects of this contact, though none of these effects—except the gains in longevity—could be called spectacular. It now remains to be seen whether these developments had created more than superficial social changes, and had begun to exert any influence on fertility.

The Course of Fertility in Taiwan

163 Due to its peculiar nature in Taiwan, the system of vital registration recorded the numbers of Taiwanese births with a high standard of accuracy. Births were registered by the same system as were deaths, which has been described in some detail in Chapter VI. It functioned as part of a more comprehensive scheme of control; this scheme in turn owed its effectiveness to the ingenious way that it was fitted into local solidarities and backed by police power. Since the system recorded deaths accurately and since the figures it helped to compile in census enumerations were practically complete, the tests illustrated in Chapter VI indicate that few live births went unregistered.

By this token the data for births are nearly as valid as were the figures for deaths. In other respects, however, they are less adequate. It is not enough for the study of fertility to know the numbers of births that occurred. The significant event is in reality parenthood rather than the birth itself—we do not search for the motives of a child in entering the world, but of its parents in bringing about the event. Accordingly, some information is needed about the circumstances of birth, and in particular about the characteristics of parents. Though Taiwan's Research Bureau issued copious data each year